UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Boosters All

By ALSON H. ROBINSON

"The Peace and Dignity of Centralia"

By ROBERT WHITAKER

The Plan to Outlaw War

VOLUME XCIII NUMBER 21

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 327
Boosters All.—REV. ALSON H. ROBINSON..... 330
Jottings.—J. H. H. 331

ARTICLES—
"The Peace and Dignity of Centralia."—REV. ROBERT WHITAKER 331
"Grave Consequences." 4. Gentlemen's Agreement.—*Frederick Starr* 333
My Jail Experiences. VII.—*Mahatma Gandhi* 334
The Plan to Outlaw War..... 335
A World Rebel. Thomas Paine.—ROLAND D. SAWYER 336

POETRY—
In Thought of Inez.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.. 327
Youth Triumphant.—MABEL F. BLAKESLEE.... 336
Selected.—*Charlotte Perkins Gilman*..... 336

CORRESPONDENCE—
Boundary Atrocities.—DAVID STARR JORDAN... 337
A Grim Joke.—STOUGHTON COOLEY..... 337
Communists in Bulgaria.—P. M. MATTHÉEFF.. 337
Canadian Methodists and War.—W. IVENS.... 337
An Incorrect Statement.—NANCY REGER..... 338
The Election Overturn in France.—C. H.-B.... 338

THE FIELD—
Notes on Greek Orthodoxy.—GEORGE SARANTON 338
The Women's Peace Parade in Cleveland.—K. ELIZABETH SIHLER..... 338

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIII THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1924 NUMBER 21

IN THOUGHT OF INEZ

[Written for the Pageant at "Meadowmount," August 17, 1924, in memory of Inez Milholland, 1884-1916.]

I.

Some thought of Helen and the Grecian ships,
Whenas they gazed upon her eyes and lips.

Some thought of great Zenobia, the Queen,
Who fronted emper'rs with unconquered mien.

Some of Hypatia, learnèd, wise, and just,
Who raised the torch of Truth from out the dust.

And some, that day of marching for the Right,
Saw Joan the Maid, empanoplied for fight.

II

But I saw not in Inez any dead—
No halo of the past above her head.

I saw the Future, as she strode her way
Into the glory of a dawning day.

I saw the Woman who is yet to be,
When life is young, and every heart is free.

I saw a Star, flame like the sun, and die—
An Angel stoop his wings, and swiftly cry!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

When the *New Republic* declares that "President Coolidge is an arid conservative who makes conservatism repellent," and that "Mr. Davis is an engaging conservative who makes it attractive," there is summed up with admirable cogency all the difference that there is between the Republican and Democratic candidates and the parties which they represent. It may be argued, to be sure, that the President is a commonplace, small-town lawyer of something less than mediocre ability, while Mr. Davis is the brilliant leader of the American bar. This is true—and we are among those who think that Mr. Davis is going to make Mr. Coolidge look so small in this campaign, that any chances which may now exist of the latter's election will be torn to shreds long before the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November comes to hand. But all this is a matter of personalities, having nothing to do with the issues and policies for which the two men stand. Can any sane person imagine these candidates differing from one another in any vital, nation-shaking issue? As to whether the tariff should be higher or lower, the Filipinos freed tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, taxes adjusted this way or that way, Mobilization Day held or not held, there may be a hair's-breadth of divergence between them. But on fundamental concerns, on matters of principle and ideal—government ownership, the nationalization of finance, the curbing of the courts, the emancipation of labor, full freedom of speech and press, the ending of capitalistic exploitation at home and imperialistic conquests abroad—they stand together shoulder to shoulder. As they would both say, if a foreign enemy invaded our soil, "here partisanship ends," so they both say the same thing now that a domestic radical assails our politico-economic system of society. The one is in office, and the other wants to be in office. But in or out, they are one in defense of the *status quo*—Tweedledum and Tweedledee—that's all! If anybody wants to use his vote to split this hair 'twixt south and southwest side, let him do so. We have other purposes.

Impressive confirmation of these observations is given by the endorsement of La Follette and Wheeler by the American Federation of Labor, which was the sensation of the hour a fortnight ago. The Federation pointed out, in its report, that there is no essential difference of any kind between the Republican and Democratic parties—their candidates, platforms, or records! Both presidential candidates are "unacceptable to labor"—both old parties "are in a condition of moral bankruptcy which constitutes a menace and a peril to our country and its institutions." In contrast to this joint indictment is the warm endorsement of the La Follette and Wheeler ticket. Here is something different! These men stand for policies and ideals altogether apart from the noxious standpatism of Coolidge, Davis and Co.

"We cannot do other than point out this fact . . .," says the Federation's declaration to its members, "that the candidates, Mr. La Follette and Mr. Wheeler, have throughout their whole political careers stood steadfast in defense of the rights and interests of the wage earners and the farmers.

"We call upon the wage earners and the great masses of the people everywhere who stand for freedom, justice, democracy and human progress to rally in this campaign, to the end that the representatives of reaction and special interest may be defeated and the faithful friends and servants of the masses elected."

Here at last we have from the American Federation of Labor what we have long despaired of—genuinely progressive and courageous political action! This must mean that Gompers and his old-line crowd of labor

politicians are losing control of the organization. It must also mean the infinitely more important and really significant thing—that La Follette and Wheeler represent the beginning of the long hoped-for labor party in this country. The Federation, to be sure, carefully disavows any intention of endorsing the third party movement as such. But this, of course, was merely an attempt to keep the record straight—and a face-saver for Gompers! What is important is that, for the first time in history, we see the old-line conservative labor unions lined up with the Socialists, and these with the liberal intelligentsia as represented by the Committee of 48, the *Nation,* and the *New Republic*. This is exactly the kind of union of diverse elements in a common cause which created the British Labor Party. A new era, here as there, is dawning.

It certainly is a goodly sight—seeing President Coolidge, Secretary Weeks, and General Pershing squirming in the hot water of public indignation against Goose-Step Day. These officials put on a fine front of innocence and virtue—they go stolidly ahead with their militaristic schemes. But we all know that they know—and that they know that we know that they know—that they have guessed wrong this time, and wish that they were well out of a bad mess. It didn't take Mr. Davis and Mr. Bryan long to catch up the issue for campaign purposes. And here is Mr. La Follette striving desperately to outdo the Democrats, and thus claim the issue for his own. These candidates, dear friends, are no fools—they are perfectly well aware what side their bread is buttered on. They know that the great majority of the American people are dead against this inane display of Prussianism, and will have nothing to do with it. For the opponents of the Republican administration, of whom we are most enthusiastically one, the situation is just too delicious for words. We can hardly wait for September 12th to come, and thus to see the pin-wheel fizzle. Our army will valiantly rush to arms—our little tin soldiers in the militia will bravely march—our reserve officers will take their uniforms out of camphor and strut and swell their chests—speakers will dust off their Fourth of July orations, and bellow to the air—newspapers, as usual, will beat the tom-tom—a few flags will fly, a few bands play—and the masses of the people will go about their business, most of them amused, as when the circus comes to town, many of them disgusted and resolved to do what they can to oust from office the men responsible for this expensive, silly and abominable exhibition. It is our sober judgment that Goose-Step Day is doing more to hurt the Republicans than anything that has happened since the oil exposures. So let "Der Tag" come on!

Five years after the close of the war, Germans sit down with Frenchmen, Englishmen, Belgians at an international conference! If it is right now to shake hands and talk with these Germans on an equal footing of accord, why not in 1919? If at London, why not at Versailles? In this meeting of former enemies to discuss ways and means of living together in a common world, we see the real achievement of the recent London Conference—and a great achievement it is! Aside from this, however, the deliberations of this august gathering interested us not at all. We felt not the slightest concern whether the conferees agreed or not. Or rather we hoped that they would not agree, for we regard the Dawes Plan as only one more attempt to make workable what is inherently unworkable—namely, the Versailles Treaty!—and its acceptance therefore is only one more disastrous postponement of what must finally be done if Europe is to survive at all—namely, get rid of the Versailles Treaty! It seems to us ridiculous, after all the experience of the last five years, that the world should be rejoicing at this futile London agreement—and it makes us groan to think of men like MacDonald and Herriot associated with it. It has its advantages, of course. Thus it breaks the grip of France from Germany's neck—it relaxes the conditions of servitude on the German people. But it has its disadvantages also, as see the international money shylocks imposing their loan on Germany, as on Austria and Hungary, and thus sucking a fresh supply of life-blood! We could wish, as we wished at Versailles in 1919, that the Germans would wash their hands of the whole business instead of signing, signing, signing—and challenge the Allies to do their worst. But we suppose that this is demanding or expecting more than human flesh can stand. Meanwhile, we have fresh demonstration that it is the money power that counts today, that it is the international bankers who rule the world. It was the Bank of England and the House of Morgan that dictated the terms of this London settlement. And MacDonald and Herriot took it lying down! Alas—Alas!!

Speaking of MacDonald and the London Conference, we want to give warning to our readers that we are fast getting to the point where we can no longer conceal our disappointment over the Labor Government in Westminster. We remember that this Government is a government in office but not in power. We have praised mightily the achievements of the Government—the release of Gandhi, the recognition of Soviet Russia, the abandonment of the Singapore naval base, the Snowdon budget, etc. But—there is another side, and this side is mounting fast! Thus, at the very start, there was that unforgettable threat to India—the same kind of message that a Milner or a Curzon might have written. Then there was the building of the eight cruisers—the maintenance of exactly the same militaristic standards, in other words, that any Tory ministry would serve. Then there is the matter of the

secret archives pertaining to the causes of the war. MacDonald has been in charge of the Foreign Office for eight months, and still these archives remain sealed. Why? What has MacDonald to fear, or not to gain, from their publication? Why is he not willing to do what a Grey or Curzon would not do—serve the cause of peace by letting the truth be known? And now comes, as a kind of climax, a story which seems incredible—the raiding by the police in London of the Communist Party offices, the seizure of files and papers, and the arrest of the editor of the Communist *Workers' Weekly*. The charge against the editor, according to newspaper dispatches, is that of seducing members of His Majesty's military forces from allegiance. He actually confessed to declaring in his paper that the capitalists are preparing another war, and telling the workers not to enlist in the army or navy. Such an event as this, and the other matters named above, make one wonder wherein a Labor Government differs from any other. Why have a Labor Government if it does the same things, functions the same way, as the capitalist parties? They also remind one of Bertrand Russell's searching statement—that revolutions change everything except the form of government!

Sarah Wambaugh, formerly of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, states at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown that "fifty-four nations have already outlawed war. Only America, Turkey, Mexico and Russia are still living under the old primitive code." At last, *at last!* The millennium is here—and we never knew it! No more fighting—no more wars or rumors of wars—no more preparations for wars! But hold on a minute! What's this we read? Spain is fighting in Morocco—her army has been defeated, and is in retreat. Japan has just ordered 140,000 machine guns from a firm in England, and in order to supply these weapons at the earliest possible moment the firm's staff is reported to be "working night and day." The French military authorities are carrying out tests with what they call "the fastest fighting airplane in the world," armed with four machine guns from which fire can be directed from all sides and either above or below, even when the plane is speeding at a rate of 200 miles per hour. Italy has grown active in this same field. England has just mobilized her fleet at Spithead, bringing together what she significantly calls her "immediately ready striking force," together with her reserve ships. A few days earlier we read of "immense crowds" assembled at Hendon to witness the royal air force pageant. At a height of 15,000 feet one of the fighting planes showed its ability "to go over the enemy's lines at a speed of 410 miles an hour." Again, "five snipers from No. 25 squadron bombed a disabled tank on the aerodrome," and an "attack on an armed merchant cruiser provided a thrilling finale." At this moment shooting competitions are being held all over the British Empire, with "the underlying idea" of improving "musketry efficiency on a national scale and to work for national defense." Russia is increasing her red army. But we forget—Russia is still living under "the old primitive code" of war! All these other nations "have outlawed war." It looks like it, doesn't it? Something is wrong here, and we are very much inclined to think it is Sarah Wambaugh.

The death of Joseph Conrad on the 3rd of this month brings to a close one of the most remarkable careers in the history of English literature. One has only to visualize the young Polish lad going to sea at the age of 19 as a sailor on a French ship out of Marseilles, and then contemplate the world-famous author of English novels just now passed away, to see what a miracle of genius is here involved. We wonder if there is any other instance of a man learning in mature years an alien speech, and straightway becoming one of the masters of its literary style! We give our reverent salutation to such an achievement. In Conrad's work there was a strange mingling of elements. Thus in the structure, setting and even spirit of his stories, he was a frank romanticist. In the days of D. H. Lawrence and Theodore Dreiser, he went right on writing novels of the school of Scott and Cooper. But along with this romanticism, there went a profound realism which gave the author a deeper interest in the psychology of his characters than in the scenes they occupied or the tale they had to tell. Over all was the love of nature, especially of the sea and the jungle, of gorgeous sunsets and mighty storms. And in and through all was the brooding gloom of the Slavic spirit, which sees all things as tragedy. Here was a fascinating combination of qualities—there is nothing else quite like it in English letters. Yet the result seems to us to be a good deal less than is claimed by most of our critics. We have tried faithfully to read and love Conrad, but have found it the hardest kind of work. Only in "Victory" were we thrilled—only "The Nigger of the Narcissus" did we deem great. The other books that we have read were so difficult, in some cases so impossible—"Chance," for instance—that we count it an Herculean labor to have finished them at all. The trouble, we believe, was Conrad's excessive preoccupation with himself and his work, incident to his discovery of his genius. He was ambitious to achieve supreme artistry, but remained always too much the conscious and labored stylist ever to be the really great artist. There is an *abandon* in all true art which this man never had, or perhaps did not allow himself to express. Unlike Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, he was often described as an author's author! Just in this is seen the measure of his failure.

Boosters All

Naturally the "grave consequences" which we should like to see would be a better understanding between America and Japan. Possibly something of this sort may come about. In any event the center of geographical gravity has been transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast and for the first time in their lives enormous numbers of Americans are beginning to realize that their country has a western coast line as well as an eastern.

Mr. Frederick Starr in one of his illuminating UNITY articles on the American-Japanese situation has cleverly forced this question of a mutual understanding between East and West into the foreground of attention. Speaking for the Pacific coast he says that recently a considerable number of efficiency experts have been sent out to encourage and develop us. After reminding them of their fulsome praise of what they saw, which, of course, was what the westerner wanted, Mr. Starr says that—

> Considering their great surprise, admiration and optimism, it is strange that no one of them has cast his lot in with us. It might have been supposed that they would lose no time in locating in one or another of these centers of future development, but each has wended his way back to the provincial eastern city from which he came.

Wherein lies the common denominator between the golden west of opportunity and provincialism of the east? When one is in Hood River, Ore., or Merced, Cal., it seems a long way to Wilmington, Del., or Jersey City, and he wonders what it is that holds California and New Jersey together. During the course of a recent unedifying political punch and judy show somebody suggested that performances like the Democratic Convention held within themselves great cohesive force. After Alabama and Utah have held to the unit rule for 97 successive votes, each screaming the virtues of its favorite son, they begin to make an impression on themselves and upon their constituency. Here is the world's foremost endurance test and endurance is a great civic virtue. Happily, however, after an almost interminable siege even Democratic party conventions come to an end and one has to look elsewhere for that amalgam which will prevent these sovereign states from flying at each other's throats.

Happily there is always something to shout for. If you are in Seattle you will find that the town has taken a week off to see the beauty show. The Queen of Seattle with her court of attendants parades through an arch of swords held by the trusty officers of the American Legion. In Portland you are impressed by the texture and fragrance of the roses, and incidentally by the fertility of the soil which is all right except that everything has to be irrigated and just now there isn't any water to spare. San Francisco naturally boasts of its climate, while Los Angeles modestly corners the biggest and best of everything for herself by cryptically referring to New York as "the Los Angeles of the east."

A new variant of the California climate story is related by a gentleman who recently made an attempt to attend the services in which the baccalaureate address was to be delivered to the graduating class at Berkeley. The crowd was very great and of the entire address he heard but one sentence. That sentence was, "there can be no doubt that California is God's own country."

Now "such boastings as the Gentiles use" represent real differences. They correspond to conditions of temperament or tradition or climate which are fairly unique and if you want to salt down an easterner's tail for that sort of thing you've got to catch him young.

Speaking again of "grave consequences" it now looks as though our friends on the Pacific coast were in danger of severe eclipse from a most unexpected quarter. We will give you forty-eight guesses as to where the following quotation comes from.

> The prize winning slogan will be announced immediately * * * hundreds of clever and pertinent phrases are now in the hands of the judges. Posters are ready. Stickers are ready. Placards are ready. Badges and buttons are ready. In a few days it will be impossible for anybody who has eyes and uses them to avoid the message of New England Week.

Thus does the Boston *Herald* editorially champion the New England Week idea.

The fact is that when this sort of shop window dressing falls off the resulting view is not edifying. When the *Nation* conducted a symposium on these United States a year or so ago, attempting to debunk the citizens of the various states each state protested its own innocence while conceding the guilt of all the others. The Los Angeles *Times,* reflecting the sensitive nature and irrepressible pride of its citizens, carries specific instruction about the correct pronunciation of the name of its fair city, but you read nothing whatever of the unprovoked raid upon an I. W. W. concert in San Pedro in which several children were severely burned by boiling coffee and six men were carried off into the woods and tarred and feathered.

Perhaps this extravagant self-adulation is the cohesive force which is holding the United States together during this period of the dissolution of the traditional forms and manifestations of democracy. Of course, there are other forces which enter into the equation,—language, youth, a common tradition, all play their part and a significant one.

As a matter of fact these sovereign states hold together surprisingly well in spite of their diversity of interests. The amalgam which bound them during the pioneer days has run out.

The wilderness of today is largely restricted to the great cities. These are the places where men get lost. To redeem them, not through appeal to passion and prejudice, but through reason and the application of social science, lies the hope of a united nation.

ALSON H. ROBINSON.

Jottings

A letter, recently captured from a rum-runner off New York, says among other things—

> This is a very exciting life out here. There are two boat-loads of Chinese, Italians, Greeks and so forth, all waiting to be smuggled into the States.

This is terrible. Immigrants smuggled in, as well as liquor! The remedy is obvious—repeal the immigration laws at once!!

It is ten years after the opening of "the war to end war"—and the nations of the earth are spending "approximately $2,900,000,000 a year" for armaments in preparation for the next war!

If the forthcoming presidential election is thrown into Congress, the body to act will not be the new Congress chosen this fall, but the old Congress chosen two years ago, in 1922. Remember this fact when you sit down to ponder the proposed Constitutional amendment authorizing a new Congress to enter upon its succession immediately after its election!

The current *American Mercury* (p. 451) speaks of "the late Harding (as) the most incompetent donkey ever seen in the White House since the dull days between the Jackson dynasty and the Civil War," and says of Coolidge that he is "the only public man in the whole stretch of this imperial land of whom it may be said . . . that he is actually worse than Harding." With the ideas which the editors here seek to express, we are in entire agreement, but we protest against such bad taste and such gross exaggeration in the expression. Truth is naked, but not necessarily indecent.

We have never had any confidence in farmers as radical reformers. The American farmer, exactly like the European peasant, is a conservative of conservatives. He may get excited when crops bring small prices, he may seem to rebel when ruin stares him in the face. But bring him by any chance a little prosperity, and he is at once contented, like a baby with pap. Nor is he interested if others are starving! At bottom he is an individualist, and wants simply to be let alone. Thus today, the price of wheat is suddenly going up—and everybody agrees that this is bad for La Follette!

Herriot stated at the recent London Conference, when the German delegates were received, that if they raised the question of the causes of the war, he would get right up and walk out! This is the way the French have answered this question ever since 1914. It is not very convincing any more. J. H. H.

"The Peace and Dignity of Centralia"

[This article is rendered timely by the announcement last month, through the General Defense Committee, of fresh and convincing evidence that the I. W. W.s in the Centralia shooting affray on Armistice Day, 1919, were the attacked and not the attackers. Three persons, all residents of Centralia, eyewitnesses of the tragedy, have made affidavits to the effect that uniformed members of the parade attacked the I. W. W. hall before any shots were fired by the defenders. This testimony, added to other testimony collected in recent months, calls for liberation of the eight men convicted and now imprisoned at Walla Walla. In this case, as in the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts and in the Mooney case in California, justice bleeds.—J. H. H.]

Centralia, Washington, when I saw it first in August of 1888 was little more than a clearing in the forest, with an ill-assorted collection of houses and frontier stores, around which on every hand the wreckage of the woods showed in stumps and charred logs and rejected timber. When I visited it again, nearly thirty-five years later, on Sunday, March 18, 1923, the fringe of forest encircling the town was still everywhere in evidence, but the single street which impressed me on my earlier visit had increased to a net-work of thoroughfares, the stores were more pretentious though still ordinary enough, the residences covered a wider area, and the woods, at a greater remove now, somehow reminded one of that line from one of Will Carleton's Farm Ballads, "The Editor's Guest," "But he's made out of second growth timber, and will never be much, I'm afraid."

We drove down from Seattle that Sunday morning, and reached Centralia in good time for the "Open Air Meeting" which was to test out the right of Elmer Smith to peacefully address his fellow citizens of Centralia. Smith was standing over by the low platform which had been built on the inside edge of the large lot, the lot itself being the property of the Central Labor Council of Centralia. The day was as pleasant as one could wish, the people who were gathering slowly showed nothing at all uncharacteristic of any small town crowd, except that the lumber jack was more in evidence, and there was less of hilarity, less of boisterous get-togetherness than belongs to the usual Sunday afternoon picnic in a western town, especially if it is under the auspices of some boosters' club. The calm of the day was matched by the quietness of the crowd, and there was nothing explosive or even electric about either. The temperature, both human and climatic, had neither heat nor tingle in it.

When I shook hands with Smith, whom I had seen and heard before, he greeted me with a smile which none could see without realizing the singular combination of strength and gentleness in the man. He is a man of little more than average size, five feet ten I should say, sturdily but not stockily built, with auburn hair, brown eyes, and a face that has the color of the out-of-doors in it. Friendliness is the whole atmosphere of the man, a friendliness which has a tremendous firmness and sincerity back of it. You wonder when you talk with him that even his enemies can really believe themselves such, and you cease to wonder at the quality of the fight he has made in the midst of a situation difficult enough to try the nerve of any man. Elmer

Smith is not alone, as that day proved, but his fight has had a solitariness about it which he would not have experienced had his lines fallen in Seattle or Tacoma or any other large city. Centralia is "central" to a vast area of exceedingly uninteresting country, between Portland on the Willamette, and the cities on Puget Sound. A man of Smith's quality would be lonely there at any time, and under the most favorable circumstances, and one could not easily imagine an environment less calculated to give a man courage for making himself a bulwark against the hysteria of a whole community. That the hysteria is by no means unanimous in Centralia is proven rather strikingly by the fact that at the last election Elmer Smith fell only eight hundred votes short of being elected as Prosecuting Attorney. And this in a city of ten thousand people, with a large body of his friends disfranchised either by their brief terms of settled residence or their I. W. W. aversion to political action. Centralia may yet elect Elmer Smith to whatever preferment she has to give.

"Meet our Chief of Police," said Smith to me, as he clasped my hand, introducing me to a man who stood at his left. Then with a renewal of the friendly smile Smith added, "You're not going to arrest me today, are you Chief?"

The question was honest enough on Smith's part, as I had reason to know. He had assured me over the telephone three days before that he anticipated no further trouble, he thought the fight for free speech in Centralia was practically won. When the authorities had arrested him some weeks before they had sent word of their intention to his home. He had accepted the notice as a sort of invitation to a friendly test case. But when the test came, on his appeal, those responsible for his arrest had no transcript to show, and abandoned the suit against him. He is too honest himself to suspect them of the subterfuge of trying to defeat him with the multitude of their irregularities against him. And possibly he gave them credit for a little sense.

There was no smile on the Chief's face. There is a kind of gravity that is not quite equalled by any other creature under the sun except the small town police official. "The emptiness of ages in his face," I heard one man remark, commenting on the matter two or three hours later. To which the other responded, "And on his back the burden of the world."

"I shall arrest you if you attempt to speak," was the official reply. "Why?" asked Elmer Smith, imperturbably. "You know the ordinance," said the Chief, "you can't speak in this town at any meeting held under the auspices of the I. W. W."

I wondered whether the prohibition included me. So it was decided that I should take the platform first. The songs the I. W. W. had intended to sing in opening the meeting were quietly set aside, and we began with the briefest word of introduction from the chairman of the meeting, who was, if I mistake not, himself a member of the I. W. W. He was not disturbed, either at that time, or afterward when he continued the meeting long after Smith's arrest, and the boys sang, "Solidarity," "Hold the Fort," and whatever else was requested. Nor was there any slightest attempt to disturb me. A better behaved audience I never had. The Chief was as quiet as any of them, though perhaps a little less responsive. My address was not calculated to flatter him or the men behind him. Neither was it conservative in economic substance. It was said that there were a thousand people within reach of my voice. They stood row upon row in every direction around to the limits of the Labor Temple lot, along the sidewalks of the street beyond, and thronged the windows which were open across the street. And they were orderly, good-natured, and as void of any appearance of excitement as if there had not been a policeman within a thousand miles.

Then, as I stepped down from the platform, and Smith stepped forward, the chairman merely remarking that he needed no introduction, the majesty of the law was made manifest. "There is an old document," remarked Smith quietly, "which runs something like this: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident.'" But he got no farther. The Chief was already sternly facing him.

"For the peace and dignity of Centralia I place you under arrest." Smith smiled into the fixed face of the officer. "Have you a warrant?" he asked. The question seemed to be incomprehensible to the official mind. "Have you a warrant?" Smith repeated. And then, with a dramatic gesture for all the world like a movie picture the officer threw back his top coat proudly, and showed his star. Was not that warrant enough to set aside the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and Magna Charta itself? The dispute was at an end, Smith smiled once more, at the crowd this time, and was led away. And no one in that crowd cried out so much as "Shame," or made any demonstration so much as a remark, but as cheerfully and calmly as if the thing had been indeed a stage scene the large company submitted to the outrage with a measure of self-control I have never seen surpassed. The meeting went on. I was called to the platform again. The chairman spoke, quietly and without any show of heat. There was singing, as I have said, not defiant but buoyant, almost exultant. The spirit of a great peace was there, and under it a great determination. Also there was remembrance there of the men who have fared harder than Elmer Smith, and are wearing their lives out in the prison pens of this borough of the lumber lords, and a collection of seventy-two dollars was taken toward helping to feed the "fellow-workers" behind the bars. So quietly, so genially, so reverently, if I may say it, did the meeting close I found myself moved for a moment to lift my hand and pronounce the benediction. But on second thought I knew it was quite unnecessary "for the peace and dignity of Centralia."

ROBERT WHITAKER.

Passive resistance is not the weapon of the weak. It needs far greater courage to be a passive resister than a physical resister. It is the courage of a Jesus, a Daniel, a Cranmer, a Latimer and a Ridley, who could go calmly to suffering and death, and the courage of a Tolstoy who dared to defy the Czars of Russia, that stands out as the greatest.

We stand on the threshold of a twilight—whether morning or evening twilight we know not. One is followed by the night, the other heralds the dawn. If we want to see the dawning day after the twilight and not the mournful night, it behooves every one of us who realizes the truth at this juncture to stand for it against any odds, and to preach and practice it at any cost unflinchingly.

—*Gandhi.*

"Grave Consequences"

Six Articles on the American-Japanese Situation

4.

Gentlemen's Agreement

The so-called gentlemen's agreement was arranged in 1907 when Theodore Roosevelt was President of the United States and Elihu Root was Secretary of State. The purpose of the document was two-fold: First, to limit the immigration of Japanese, especially laborers; second, to spare the feelings of a proud and sensitive nation.

There has been considerable effort of late to make it appear as something mysterious, a product of secret diplomacy. Not infrequently we are told that its terms have never been made known to the public, and behind every such statement there is the intention to give the impression that there is something concealed, which if known would be a scandal. There is, of course, nothing to all this.

As Kawakami says:

> The gentlemen's agreement of 1907, excluding Japanese laborers from America is not in the shape of a formal treaty or agreement. The term applied simply to the substance of a number of formal notes exchanged between the State Department and the Japanese Ambassador at that time. Briefly stated, the agreement is this:
>
> First: Japan, of her own accord, will refrain from issuing passports to Japanese laborers desiring to enter territories contiguous to continental United States such as Mexico or Canada.
>
> Second: Japan will recognize the right of the United States to refuse the admission to continental United States of Japanese of the laboring class whose passports do not include continental United States.
>
> Third: Japan will issue passports to continental United States only to Japanese of the following four classes: 1. Non-laborers, such as travelers, business men, financiers, etc. 2. Japanese, whether laborers or non-laborers, who have already become domiciled in continental United States. 3. Parents, wives or children of Japanese who have become domiciled in continental United States. 4. Japanese who have acquired farming interests in continental United States and who wish to return there to take active control of those interests.

I know of no better statement of the gentlemen's agreement than this. It covers the entire ground and there are no reserved passages. While it is not a formal treaty, it is perfectly well understood and entirely workable. Indeed, it has worked excellently for sixteen years.

On the whole, the result of the agreement has been satisfactory. In the Chicago News Year Book for 1922 we find the figures of Japanese immigration from the year 1913 onward. In 1913, 8,302 Japanese came to this country; the number gradually increased until 1918, when it reached 10,168; it then declined each year to 1921 when there were 7,531 Japanese entering America. A little further on we shall explain why there was an increase from 1913 until 1918. There is nothing suspicious nor blamable in it and it was inevitable under the circumstances.

Kawakami gives some quite different figures presenting the arrivals and departures of Japanese for every year from 1908 to 1920. His figures are from American official sources as are those of the Chicago News Year Book, but give the matter from a different point of view and lead to results not directly comparable.

From 1908 to 1920 he finds a steady increase culminating in 1920 at 12,868 persons. These figures, however, include the Japanese who entered or departed from both Pacific and Atlantic ports. Many of the persons figure twice, and the figures are somewhat misleading for that reason.

The departures from 1908 onward have steadily increased, almost every year, showing an increase on those preceding, from 4,769 in 1908 to 11,662 in 1920. In other words, every year sees an increasing number of Japanese leaving the country. If the number coming into the country in 1920 was 12,868 and the number going out 11,662, the actual incoming increase of Japanese was 1,206. This would mean that during that year 1,206 persons who were acceptable to the United States and who fell within the terms of the agreement were admitted.

The increase apparent in the figures of any authority from 1914 to 1920 are no matter for suspicion, although they have been so treated. During the war, conditions were altogether exceptional. It is, of course, necessary and legitimate that many Japanese should travel annually to European countries. This stream of travel was forced in the very nature of things to route by way of the United States, as the ordinary communications between the Orient and Europe were sadly interrupted. No one can properly complain of these people who merely passed through the United States on their way to their destination. Such persons were necessarily counted twice entering our country at the Pacific on their way to Europe and at Atlantic points on their way home.

Another influence that rendered the numbers between 1914 and 1920 very large were the students in American schools and colleges. There are always numbers of such students and they have always been welcomed to this country, and we have felt rather proud to have them come. We must remember, however, that many students—and unfortunately some of the most desirable—have preferred to go through schools in England, France, Germany, and Switzerland. During the war such students who would usually not have come to the United States were forced to do so if they desired to study in foreign schools.

Thirdly—and surely this is a reason which should make a strong appeal to us instead of causing dissatisfaction, a considerable number of Japanese were obliged to come to this country, in business positions, on account of the trade expansion that took place during the war. Agents, managers of branch offices, clerks and helpers, interpreters, were necessarily sent to the United States to aid in carrying on this new and temporary business, which was to the manifest advantage of the United States.

There is then no real justice in claiming that the increase of immigration in those years is any evidence of duplicity or trickery on the part of the Japanese.

The real question in regard to the gentlemen's agreement is whether the Japanese have loyally kept the agreement. They claim to have done so and careful analysis of the facts and statistics seems to bear them out in their assertion. If they have been loyal in the observance of this agreement there is just as much reason why it should remain in force today, as there was that it should be arranged in 1907. In fact, I claim that there is more reason. Japan's position in

the world has changed profoundly since 1907. She is today one of the four nations of first rank. She was our faithful ally in a war in which her own interests were meager. Her other allies recognized her services; we alone seem to ignore them.

We may perhaps comment on two other points. It will be noticed that in Kawakami's statement of the gentlemen's agreement how frequently he uses the expression "continental United States." There is a reason for this. Hawaii was not included in the scope of the gentlemen's agreement. It was intentionally omitted. This was not due to any expression of desire on the part of Japan, but rather to American influences.

In the indiscriminate assault, however, which has been made upon Japan during the last years Hawaii has loomed quite largely. I am tempted to discuss the entire subject which has great interest. It is, however, outside the scope of the present series. I will only say that as Japan has noticed the rising feeling in the United States regarding Hawaii, and has become accustomed to the danger cry regarding "the Japanization of Hawaii," she has herself without suggestion from the United States applied the gentlemen's agreement almost rigorously to Hawaii, and it is difficult for Japanese to secure passports to those islands.

The other point I care to mention concerns the students coming to American schools. Many of the passports issued under the gentlemen's agreement were supplied to them. The advantage of Oriental students in American schools is evident. So evident, indeed, that we were filled with satisfaction when it was decided that the Boxer indemnity returned by us to China should be used in sending Chinese students here. It was felt desirable that Oriental students should learn our ways; should come into contact with American institutions; should learn by actual instruction what we could and should do in our commercial relations with their country. All these advantages apply as well to students from Japan as to those from China. If we have really admirable and desirable conditions in this country, and treat the Oriental students kindly and fairly they become a valuable aid to promote friendship, to cement relations, and to encourage and develop trade.

It is well, however, to notice that in these days of peace no Oriental students are obliged to come to the United States. It is true that the children of wealthy and important Japanese go by preference to England, France and Germany. We have, however, always a considerable number of bright and promising young men, both private and government students, in our schools. The loss of such through a hostile, critical, and suspicious attitude, may prove considerable. In fact, it may be among "grave consequences."

—*Frederick Starr.*

(*To be continued.*)

My Jail Experiences

VII

The argument advanced by some friends and put by me at the end of the last chapter deserves consideration if only because so many honestly believe in it and so many followed it out consistently in their conduct in 1921 and 1922, when thousands went to jail.

In the first instance even outside the jails embarrassment of the Government is not our goal. We are indifferent if the Government is embarrassed so long as our conduct is right. Our non-co-operation embarrasses the Government as nothing else can. But we non-co-operate as lawyers or councillors because it is our duty. That is to say we would not cease to non-co-operate if we discovered that our non-co-operation pleased the rulers. And we are so indifferent because we believe that by non-co-operation we must ultimately benefit ourselves. But there cannot be any such non-co-operation in the jails. We do not enter them to serve a selfish end. We are taken there by the Government as criminals according to their estimation. Our business therefore is to disillusion them by acting in an exemplary (and by them expected) manner, just as our business outside is to disillusion them by avoiding, say, their law courts, schools or councils or titles and by showing that we are prepared to do without their doubtful benefits.

Whether all of us realize or not the method of non-co-operation is a process of touching the heart and appealing to reason, not one of frightening by rowdyism. Rowdyism has no place in a non-violent movement.

I have often likened Satyagrahi prisoners to prisoners of war. Once caught by the enemy, prisoners of war act towards the enemy as friends. It will be considered dishonourable on the part of a soldier as a prisoner of war to deceive the enemy. It does not affect my argument that the Government does not regard Satyagrahi prisoners as prisoners of war. If we act as such, we shall soon command respect. We must make the prisons a neutral institution in which we may, nay, must co-operate to a certain extent.

We would be highly inconsistent and hardly self-respecting if on the one hand we deliberately broke prison rules and in the same breath complained of punishment and strictness. We may not, for instance, resist and complain of search and at the same time conceal prohibited things in our blankets or our clothes. There is nothing in Satyagraha that I know whereby we may under certain circumstances tell untruths or practice other deception.

When we say that if we make the lives of prison officials uncomfortable, the Government will be obliged to sue for peace, we either pay them a subtle compliment or regard them as simpletons. We pay a subtle compliment when we consider that even though we may make prison officials' lives uncomfortable, the Government will look on in silence and hesitate to award us condign punishment so as utterly to break our spirit. That is to say we regard the administrators to be so considerate and humane that they will not severely punish us even though we give them sufficient cause. As a matter of fact, they will not and do not hesitate to throw over-board all idea of decency and award not only authorized but even unauthorized punishments on given occasions.

But it is my deliberate conviction that had we but acted with uniform honesty and dignity, behoving Satyagrahis, we would have disarmed all opposition on the part of the Government and such strictly honourable behavior on the part of so many prisoners would have at least shamed the Government into confessing their error in imprisoning so many honourable and innocent men. For is it not their case that our non-violence is but a cloak for our violence? Do we

not therefore play into their hands every time we are rowdy?

In my opinion therefore as Satyagrahis we are bound when we become prisoners

1. to act with the most scrupulous honesty;
2. to co-operate with the prison officials in their administration;
3. to set by our obedience to all reasonable discipline an example to co-prisoners;
4. to ask no favors and claim no privileges which the meanest of prisoners does not get and which we do not need strictly for reasons of health;
5. not to fail to ask what we do so need and not to get irritated if we do not obtain it;
6. to do all the tasks allotted, to the utmost of our ability.

It is such conduct which will make the Government position uncomfortable and untenable. It is difficult for them to meet honesty with honesty for their want of faith and unpreparedness for such a rare eventuality. Rowdyism they expect and meet with a double dose of it. They were able to deal with anarchical crime but they have not yet found out any way of dealing with non-violence save by yielding to it.

The idea behind the imprisonment of Satyagrahis is that he expects relief through humble submission to suffering. He believes that meek suffering for a just cause has a virtue all its own and infinitely greater than the virtue of the sword. This does not mean that we may not resist when the treatment touches our self-respect. Thus, for instance, we must resist to the point of death the use of abusive language by officials or if they were to throw our food at us which is often done. Insult and abuse are no part of an official's duty. Therefore we must resist them. But we may not resist search because it is part of prison regulations.

Nor are my remarks about mute suffering to be construed to mean that there should be no agitation against putting innocent prisoners like Satyagrahis in the same class as confirmed criminals. Only as prisoners we may not ask for favors. We must be content to live with the confirmed criminals and even welcome the opportunity of working moral reform in them. It is, however, expected of a government that calls itself civilized to recognize the most natural divisions. —*M. K. Gandhi.*

The Plan to Outlaw War

[The question is often asked as to how the Outlawry of War is to be brought about. Here is the plan of procedure as prepared by the Committee for the Outlawry of War. We are indebted for this statement to Mr. S. O. Levinson, of Chicago, originator and initiator of the Outlawry idea.—J. H. H.]

1. Declaration of our international policy by the passage by the United States Senate of the pending resolution to outlaw war; to be followed by similar parliamentary declarations in other countries.
2. When a substantial number of parliaments have so responded, Conference of all civilized nations to be called to execute a general treaty for the abolition and outlawing of war.
3. This Conference to call a Convention for the creation and codification of the international laws of peace at which all civilized nations shall have adequate representation; such code to contain, among other things, articles based upon the following principles, with which no other articles of the code shall be in conflict:

   (a) Further use of war as an institution for the settlement of international disputes shall be abolished.

   (b) War between nations shall be declared to be a public crime under the law of nations, but the right of defense against actual invasion shall not be impaired.

   (c) All annexations, seizures, or exactions by force, duress or fraud, shall be null and void.

   (d) The international laws of peace shall be based upon equality and justice between nations, and shall be expanded, adapted and brought down to date from time to time by similar Conventions.

   (e) A judicial substitute for war as the method of settling international disputes shall be created (or if existing in part, adapted and adjusted), in the nature of an international court modeled on our Federal Supreme Court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign states; such court to possess affirmative jurisdiction to hear and decide all international controversies, as defined by the code, or arising under treaties.

   (f) The court shall have jurisdiction over all parties to a dispute upon the petition of any party to the dispute, or of any signatory nation.

   (g) All nations shall agree to abide and be bound by and in good faith to carry out the orders, judgments, decrees, and decisions of such court.

   (h) The jurisdiction of the court shall not extend to matters of governmental, domestic or protective policy, unless one of the disputing parties has by treaty or otherwise given another country a claim that involves these subjects. The classes of disputes excluded from the jurisdiction of the international court shall be specifically enumerated in the code and not be left open to the flexible and dangerous distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable controversies, including questions of national honor.

   (i) All petitions, answers, and other pleadings, shall be in writing and accessible to the public, and all hearings by the court shall be open.

   (j) The court should sit in the hemisphere of the contending nations; and if the disputants live in opposite hemispheres, then in the hemisphere of the defendant nation.

   (k) National armaments to be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety and reasonable international requirements.

   (l) All nations shall make public report once each year, setting forth fully their armaments, old and new, military and naval, structural and chemical. These reports to be verified by authorized committees acting under the direction and jurisdiction of the international court.
4. After the code has been created, it shall be submitted to a plebiscite or referendum in each civilized nation, so that the faith of the peoples of all countries shall be pledged behind the code.
5. War must be outlawed before the international court is given affirmative jurisdiction over the disputes of the nations, just as the power to engage in war among our states was, under Article 1, Sec-

tion 9 of our Constitution, given up by our states before they clothed the Supreme Court with jurisdiction over their disputes.

6. Every nation should by agreement or treaty bind itself to indict and punish its own international war breeders or instigators and war profiteers under powers similar to those conferred upon our Congress, under Article 1, Section 8 of our Federal Constitution, which clothes Congress with the power "to define and punish offenses against the law of nations." Provisions for adequate legislation to this end should be made.

A World Rebel

THOMAS PAINE.

Between 1760 and 1774, a young Quaker weaver in the mills of England was writing letters to the press, rebuking the injustices in his country. He remonstrated against England's treatment of the Quakers and Jews and prisoners. At last he was told, if he desired to preach sedition he had better do it in another country, that if he did not like England, to get out.

Securing letters of introduction to Franklin, Paine at the age of 37, came to America in 1774, and Franklin aided him to find work as editor of *The Pennsylvania Magazine*. True to his Quaker antecedents Paine advocated the abolition of slavery, and true to his love for liberty, he advocated separation of the colonies from England. His re-written editorial and articles were published as the book "Common Sense" in January, 1776. The Declaration of Independence was signed six months later. No one man did so much to make that document inevitable as did Paine. Sentiment for separation came upon us slowly, even after the break-out of war at Concord and elsewhere. The popularity of "Common Sense" stirred the common people to demand from the more conservative leaders, that we declare ourselves free and independent. The radical leadership of Franklin and Jefferson would have fallen in the minority but for the brave work of Thomas Paine.

Once the Declaration was signed Paine set to work to bolster up any weak-kneed patriots, and his "Crisis" appeared in December of 1776. He entered the ranks, served as aid-in-camp to General Greene and was a brave and loyal patriot.

In 1787, after the peace was declared and the British government driven from America's shores, Paine at the age of 50 might have settled down an honored and loved patriot. He might have entered political life and won honor. But his agitator's soul sniffed the scents of political unrest across 2000 miles of ocean, and he sailed for France to meet Danton and other radicals and note the effect of his pamphlets on French lovers of liberty. Back and forth from France to England Paine went, meeting radicals, joining in the rising tide of Revolution.

He published his "Rights of Man," saw the Fall of the Bastile, was elected to a seat in the French Chamber of Deputies. But Paine was now over 50, he was English by blood and temperament, he did not fit with the fiery young Revolutionists of France, compared with whom he was conservative. He argued against the beheading of King Louis, and himself narrowly escaped the guillotine. His ever active mind turned more and more to other intellectual channels and he wrote his "Age of Reason."

His religious works brought upon Paine the severest kind of criticism and his memory has been hounded far down through the years, even to the late President Roosevelt who called him, most unjustly, "That dirty little atheist." Col. Ingersoll's "Vindication of Tom Paine" pretty well cleared up the controversy however, and we know that Paine most justly merits the words upon his modest monument where we read:—

The world is my country, mankind are my friends, to do good is my religion.

Thomas Paine died in 1809, and the observance of his centenary in 1909 showed that by another 100 years, he will be understood and justly appreciated. He was self-educated, and his education has in some places its limits; he was a restless soul, and agitator; but he was above all, a *Man*—loving his fellows, loving liberty; he wrote for liberty in three nations and never asked a cent for his work. His life puts to shame hundreds of lives that are spoken of without reproach by retained writers.

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

YOUTH TRIUMPHANT.

Last night the magic of a dream
Marshalled the hosts of many that I know
And marched them in the rank and file of youth,—
A laughing host,
Busied as in some college fete or other
Beneath the open sky.

Their steps were light
To match their gladsome hearts—
Their faces glowed with laughter,
Morning faces—
And the air was full of sprightly talk.

I think some day
We shall be marshalled in reality;
When age and pain and care are slain:
Shall find a happier day
And tasks we meet with greater joy—
And grasp eternal youth and fresh young blossoming
As well as endless life.

MABEL F. BLAKESLEE.

Man the hunter, Man the warrior,
Slew for gain and slew for safety,
Slew for rage, for sport, for glory—
Slaughter was his breath;
So the man's mind searching inward,
Saw in all one red reflection,
Filled the world with dark religions
Built on death.

Woman, bearer: Woman, teacher:
Overflowing love and labor,
Service of the tireless mother
Filling all the earth:—
Now her mind awakening, searching,
Sees a fair world young and growing,
Sees at last our real religion—
Built on Birth.

"His Religion and Hers." —*Charlotte Perkins Gilman.*

CORRESPONDENCE

BOUNDARY ATROCITIES

Editor of UNITY:

One of the most indefensible of the boundary atrocities committed at Paris is found in the treaty of Neuilly, which severed from Bulgaria the districts of Vidin, Tzaribrod, Tryn and Bossilegrad, which were added to Serbia.

Although the population in these boundary districts was almost exclusively Bulgarian, they were transferred to alien rule for the ostensible purpose of removing the border farther from the Serbian Nish-Salonika railway. These districts, thus isolated, have been subject to severe repression as a means of denationalization. Their representatives, *Organization des Emigrés Regions Occidentales Bulgares*, have issued an appeal for help to the League of Nations and to civilized people in general:

1. They protest against virtual slavery, against denationalization, against arbitrary arrest and murder.

2. They proclaim in the face of the world that they cannot be "serbised," and that at any price they mean to recover their freedom.

3. They demand insistently (a) respect for the rights of minorities guaranteed in the Treaty of Neuilly; (b) the reopening of Bulgarian schools; (c) freedom to control their local affairs; (d) the cessation of prohibiting Bulgarian publications; (e) the restoration to their homes of those banished; (f) to Bossilegrad and Tryn, shut in by high mountains on the side towards Serbia, an outlet for local trade.

4. They ask in the name of humanity for such intervention as will make life tolerable for several tens of thousands of people now on the way to extermination, and deprived of even those rights granted by the Treaty of Neuilly.

In this appeal against the government at Belgrad, these *emigrés* are said to have the support of the "peasant-republican party" of Croatia.

Yours very truly,
DAVID STARR JORDAN.

A GRIM JOKE

To the EDITOR:

A ghastly bit of irony was perpetrated by the Department of the Interior when it announced the opening of 30,000 acres of Southern California land to homesteading. The men in charge of the local land office speak of it as mountain and desert land, without water, save for possible wells, and they warn homesteaders to see the land before filing claims.

Thirty thousand acres of mountain and desert land for homesteading, with a ninety day option for ex-service men! The California Committee on Immigration and Housing, investigating conditions in the eight southern counties of the State in 1919, found 2,295,140 acres of "land in farms" in 250 holdings. There were 32 holdings each of more than 15,000 acres; seven exceeded 50,000 acres; one holding had 101,000 acres, and one had 183,399.

Thirty thousand acres of land without water for homesteading, with a ninety day option for ex-service men! The United States Food Commission, in 1917, estimated that 62,571 acres of available farm land were lying idle in San Diego County, and 64,763 acres were under cultivation. An inquiry into the agricultural use of the lands in Los Angeles County was made in the same year for the County Council of Defense that showed 665,294 acres under cultivation, and 645,050 acres unplowed.

Thirty thousand acres of undesirable land for homesteading, with first choice for ex-service men! And 183,399 acres in one ranch, with more than a half million acres of unplowed land in one county. A grim joke, indeed.

The published findings of the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, after investigating farm tenancy in California, state as one of the chief causes of tenants the unwillingness of holders of large estates to sell to small farmers, and the exorbitant prices asked where land was sold.

The Constitution of California, Art. 17, Sec. 2, says: "The holdings of large tracts of land, uncultivated and unimproved, by individuals and corporations, is against the public interest, and should be discouraged by all means not inconsistent with the rights of property."

President Harding, when Senator, said: "Every thoughtful man realizes that the proper distribution of land is the very basis of national well-being. The land should, as far as possible, be in possession and ownership of the men who work it. The drift of the people to the cities, the drift of farms into operation by tenant farmers and into ownership in large acreage by absent landlords has been recognized as a dangerous tendency of the times. Vast quantities of good farming land near the best markets in the world are not cultivated. In all, five hundred million acres (500,000,000) or thereabouts are lying idle (in the United States). In the meantime, the cities are full of people whose greatest ambition is to own a piece of this waste land and convert it into productive homes."

The Commission of Immigration and Housing, considering the large California estates, says: "Much of the land in these great holdings is not for sale under any conditions; some of it is for sale in tracts of a size which renders it wholly inaccessible to the man of small means wishing to make productive use of it, and most of what is for sale is held at prices which prudence forbids the prospective cultivator to pay. With other commodities a sluggish market and poor demand bring reduction of prices. But land in large holdings is owned by men who can afford to wait; who know that sooner or later the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence will force the purchase of their lands at their own prices."

With the Central Pacific Railways holding 664,830 acres in Siskiyou county alone; with the Southern Pacific holding 642,246 acres in San Bernardino county, and the Miller and Lux estate controlling 700,000 acres in California, the United States Government opens 30,000 acres of mountain and desert lands to homesteading, with a ninety day option for the ex-service men.

What a situation! Alice in Wonderland saw nothing to equal it.

Is nothing to be done about it? Are we to go on this way indefinitely? Is it to be a drifting policy nationally, as it has been internationally? What is to happen when even the mountain and desert land gives out? Are homeseekers to be left to the tender mercies of the owners of large estates who are waiting till the pressure of population forces people to pay their price? New Zealand broke up her large landed estates by a graduated land tax. Does that mean anything to Americans?

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

New York, N. Y.

COMMUNISTS IN BULGARIA

Editor of UNITY:

. . . In a past number of UNITY, you made a few remarks regarding the treatment of the Communists in Bulgaria. Just for your information—the Communists, fed up from Russia, actually rose in arms against the government. More than two thousand men lost their lives. But for the volunteers who offered their services to the government, complete anarchy would have been the result. Undoubtedly the Serbians would have at once occupied Bulgarian territory. The Serbians have declared by law all Communist organizations at home illegal. Yet three to four thousand Bulgarian Communists fled into Serbia; the majority is still there, treated as guests of the country, allowed to live close to our frontier, and helped in various ways to keep in contact with their sympathizers in Bulgaria. In several places, on rising in arms, they committed foul murder on officials and men not of their way of thinking. . . .

Sofia, Bulgaria. P. M. MATTHÉEFF.

CANADIAN METHODISTS AND WAR.

Editor UNITY:

During the war the General Superintendent of Canadian Methodism, Dr. Chown, presided over the Conferences of the various provinces clad in the regalia of an honorary "Colonel." He told how in his younger days he had been an active member of the militia, etc. The ministers of the Church were zealous war advocates and recruiters; the church "located"—a euphemism for dismissed—the writer for his pacifist stand during the war, and accepted the resignation of Rev. J. S. Woodsworth, now member of the House of Commons at Ottawa for Centre Winnipeg, who stated in his resignation that he did so because he could not accept the attitude of the Church on war. Today the scene is changing. Dr. Crews, editor of the *Christian Guardian*, official organ of the Methodist Church of Canada, stated editorially that never again would that organ support war; and now we have the Manitoba Conference on Monday, June 16th, stating that it too is opposed to war.

The press report is as follows:

"On the question of war the report was emphatic. 'We cannot longer go to the Bible to find justification for war.

The glorification of war must end. We therefore call upon all teachers of Sunday Schools and all workers with our youth to lose no opportunity to denounce war and the war spirit.' It was also recommended that the department of religious education prepare a course of supplementary lessons having in view the promotion of the peace spirit."

Such a stand today is creditable to the church. We are not convinced that it is an honest to goodness conversion, of course, but at least it is an indication of returning sanity.

Winnipeg, Manitoba. W. IVENS.

AN INCORRECT STATEMENT.

Editor of UNITY:

Today we received UNITY for April 17th, and noted the appeal made therein for "America's Orphan Wards" and the statement "recently made to the daily press" by Dr. Barton that there were some 50,000 children with no known relative dependent for shelter, clothing, etc., upon the Near East Relief.

This is not true and never has been true. Statistics in our office here dated August, 1923, show that at that time there were 50,000 children in the orphanages of the Near East Relief, but since that date at least 15,000 have been discharged from the orphanages to their relatives and more are being discharged every week. What is more, there is hardly a child in the orphanages without some relative living, and the Near East Relief in Greece had more requests for children to be adopted than they have so far been able to supply—owing to the fact that they do not give out children to be adopted unless they are known to be without living relatives!

I know whereof I speak because I have worked with the Near East Relief for five years, and during the past year and a half, my husband and I have worked supervising the Department which locates relatives of children and investigates their ability to care for the child and arranges to deliver the child to them. During the past three months I have also had charge of the card records for all the children in N.E.R. orphanages in Greece, and on each card is noted the name and address of any living relative if known.

When we mentioned our surprise at this sort of publicity to a representative of the New York office now in Athens, we were told that Dr. Barton could not have made such a statement!

We were surprised to see this statement in UNITY although we were not surprised that it originated with the Near East Relief as we have seen similar questionable statements in other periodicals. We feel sure that UNITY would not have published a statement of this sort knowing that it is far from correct.

Very sincerely yours,
NANCY REGER.
Athens, Greece. (Mrs. Rees R. Reger.)

THE ELECTION OVERTURN IN FRANCE.

(From a Private Letter.)

. . . Our elections are a very good sign indeed. Writing while the excitement is still buzzing I have to guard against being too optimistic for in politics all things are possible, disappointments especially. Whether the new Chamber will be able to keep all its promises is doubtful, but the success does at least mean the abatement of intense nationalism and the Left can at least be relied upon not to get muzzled by the Gun Metal group.

Travelling around as I do I am convinced that the French people are ready for a great wave of Pacifism, the cynicism of Paris notwithstanding. The Left will fan up this feeling and, looking a bit ahead, the danger seems to me that they may perhaps over-fan it and so give the reactionaries a real excuse for coming down with another cry of 'Ware Germany.

There is no blinking the fact that Germany is a danger; it is the fault of every country which sat at Versailles as well as the French and the Germans themselves. They are talking war and thinking war and worst of all they are doing their best to raise another generation with a grievance. . .

Von Gerlach and a few others in Germany seem to be putting up a magnificent fight against militarism. I can not understand why they receive so very little encouragement from abroad. We all profess to want to convert Germany from her "wicked ways of thinking" but we let the handful of Germans who are articulate pacifists carry on a losing battle with their backs to the wall.

France. C. H.-B.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

NOTES ON GREEK ORTHODOXY.

After a brief occupation of the once famous See of Constantinople, Meletios Metaksakes, *persona non grata* to the Kemalist Turks, is passing his days peacefully in one of the monasteries of Mount Athos in northern Greece. Nevertheless, the patriarchate exists and Gregorios VII is now the head of the Eastern Orthodox Church, of which the prestige and power are at present considerably diminished. He was elected to this, the highest office, last winter, after an incumbency of several years as the metropolitan of Chalkethon.

Constantinople has been the scene of some boisterous events; a narration of these had better remain unattempted. What affords comparative satisfaction to an interested observer is the abolition of the Julian calendar and the adoption of the Gregorian, the one in use in western Europe and in the American continent. This means that the anomalous custom of counting time differently from the majority of the peoples that profess Christianity is over. The new patriarch was installed with all the accustomed solemnity and pomp, on the twelfth of December, 1923, in the cathedral of Phanar; there were present official representatives of the Churches of Greece, Servia and Rumania as well as the remaining Commissioners of "The Allied and Associated Powers."

As for the Church of Greece (for a long time an autonomous branch of the Mother Church) one may note with pleasure the direction of affairs by a fairly able man, His Eminence, Chrysostomos, metropolitan of Athens. Of this dignitary I wrote a brief note in UNITY of July, 1923. He has been in office for a little more than a year and it is he that has been chiefly instrumental in calling together a conference of the ecclesiastical leaders of the Church of Greece during the latter part of last December. This conclave, presided over by him, agreed upon certain definite propositions. Chrysostomos, formerly of the School of Divinity in the National University of Greece, in Athens, is an active and modernizing person; he has been heard in that country more than once upon various grave questions. Apropos of the Greek Orthodox communities in the United States, I fear I cannot say much; there seems to exist quite an indifference to spiritual and permanent values on the part of both clergy and parishioners. With coterie against coterie some Greek churches in this country are in dire need of drastic measures. One can only hope for the best.

GEORGE SARANTON.

THE WOMEN'S PEACE PARADE IN CLEVELAND

By One of the Marchers.

Is it not high time that the methods of cavemen and brutes were softened by the influence of Christian civilization? Heretofore woman has had little to say in the world. She was a slave, she had to bear and rear all the cannon-fodder and received no thanks for it. When men became more liberal they were willing that she might shed an influence, whatever that may be.

Mothers were not consulted when men resolved on war; all she had to do was to give up her sons to the slaughter, and during the world war all her powers were utilized to help in the fight.

In this country men have had suffrage for 125 years, women for 5. The vote has given her power and she is going to use it for the betterment of the world.

When preparations for the women's peace parade were made in Cleveland, 82 (eighty-two) churches, societies, clubs and associations agreed to march. The Catholic Daughters of America had intended to march, but later withdrew from the parade plan.

The Chamber of Commerce responded in part as follows:

"We regret that the adoption of a resolution, designed simply to announce our conviction, that the peace parades being promoted in many cities at the present time, are fostered by national organizations, whose platforms seem to us unpatriotic and to suggest that civic organizations in Cleveland make a further investigation of evidence easily obtainable, before participating in the Cleveland peace parade, should seem to your executive committee either unfair in method or unwarranted by facts."

Condescendingly the Chamber of Commerce continued: "Since the remainder of your letter is devoted to statements relating to the patriotic purposes of your own organizations" — and sweetly they add: "purposes which have never been

questioned—we can only assure you that we have no doubt whatever as to the earnestness and sincerity and patriotism of your organization."

We were referred to the Reserve Officers' Association of Cleveland, who could be found neither in the city directory nor in the telephone book. When the president of this association was found, he said that he believed the attitude of the chamber was correct, and continued, "I am heartily in sympathy with the stand of the Chamber of Commerce"; — and listen to this: "It appears to me that demonstrations of this character, though impelled by the highest motives"—how dear of him to admit this!—"are playing into the hands of *insidious propagandists,* whose object is to affect total disarmament of the United States."

"Demonstrations of peace, if at all effective, must tend toward a weakening of our national defense. This result would be to . . . invite war instead of preventing it."

A second officer first sprinkles a spoonful of sugar, then he goes on to say that *he* is preventing war with all its horrors by his membership in the greatest peace society in the world—the army of the United States.

All this goes to prove that Mrs. Catt was quite right when she, at the recent convention of Women Voters in Buffalo, declared that she saw a sharp line-up between the militarist influences and the peace forces, which was proved immediately and had its origin in a chart that had come from a "librarian" in the "Chemical service" of the War Department. This chart attacked women's organizations as being disloyal and tried to prove "Miss Bolshevik's" activities through women's organizations.

The women's Joint Committee immediately referred this to the Secretary of War, Mr. Weeks, inaccuracies in the chart were pointed out and the destruction of the chart as well as the correction of the false impression it had created, was demanded. Secretary Weeks' letter regretted the errors and promised the destruction of the chart wherever sent. The chart is slain—but it did some damage ere it expired.

Well, the peace parade in Cleveland took place. There had been rain and thunderstorms in the forenoon, but heaven smiled on us as we got ready to march. All arrangements had been made and thousands of women marched eight abreast. All was peace and order, and if the lines were not always perfect, it was rather to the credit of the marchers, —for it proved that they had not been tainted by militarism.

Wherever the procession passed the streets were lined with quiet, earnest spectators—mostly clad in brown. Only once in a while could I permit myself to look to the right or the left, some men stood with their hats in their hands, thus showing respect. Frequently a deputy marshal, megaphone in hand, would call out, "Keep your line straight!" and fixing my eyes on the lavender bars of the gray coat of the marcher in front of me, I did my best, marching for peace and remembering well the sad times when I had been forced to march for war to create the bellicose atmosphere.

Have you noticed the canceling stamp on your letters? "Let's go, Citizens military training camps!" I know a woman who objected to this and informed the powers that be that she would rather die than lift one finger to further any war of any nation.

Since the Church has at last turned toward Christ, the Prince of Peace, and away from Mars, the god of war, there is hope that the peace of God which passeth all understanding may come and remain on this earth making it like heaven.

Women demand that henceforth all controversies be settled by arbitration and no longer by brute force. "Men have brought war into the world, and I hope the women will bring peace."

With the help of God we will!

K. Elizabeth Sihler.

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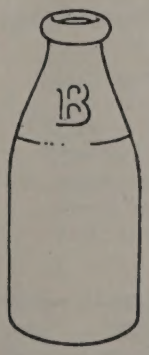

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